background information

FOR CHURCH AND SOCIETY

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Background Information presents material on important developments in society in order to contribute to a realistic ecumenical discussion of the Church and social issues. It is distributed by request to a limited number of interested persons. It may not be directly quoted without permission. Background Information is compiled by the staff of the Department on Church and Society of the World Council of Churches. It does not represent the views of the World Council, its Departments, or its staff.

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Notes on the articles in this issue.

What are the churches in the southern states in the U.S.A. doing about desegregation in the schools? To get information on this we asked a pastor in the Southern Baptist Church, the Rev. Paul A. Stagg, to report on the attitude of the churches in the town of Front Royal, Virginia. His account reveals what powerful political and social pressures are brought to bear upon the pastors and the laity, most of whom seem to be in favour of gradual desegregation. The opposition is well organized and ruthless. Mr. Stagg makes it clear that the churches of Front Royal are finding a new unity in the struggle to uphold justice and peace in the community.

That this determination of Protestant ministers to work for responsible solutions to the desegregation problem is not the exception is clear from the statement of 312 pastors in Atlanta, Georgia, favouring acceptance of gradual desegregation in the state schools of their city. This group includes practically all the Christian leaders of Georgia. We have included their statement at the end of Mr. Stagg's article.

Very seldom is there an opportunity for a western economist to present his ideas on economic and social development to the government of an Asian country. But Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the well-known Swedish economist and writer, was invited by Mr. Nehru to speak to the members of the Indian Parliament on the subject of development in India. It is reported that Dr. Myrdal spoke for three hours! The excerpts published here are taken from the Indian newspaper, the Hindu which published the address in full. We shall publish excerpts from the final portion of the address in the next issue of Background Information.

"The Reason has not been determined" describes a situation which in less dramatic and gruesome ways must occur very often in missionary experience. It would be a mistake to assume that the study of social or cultural anthropology is a panacea for all the problems underlying such religious and cultural conflict but as the note suggests it might help. This article has been reprinted from Practical Anthropology (Sept.-Oct. 1957) by permission of the editors. Practical Anthropology is published in New York (exact address: Box 307, Tarrytown, New York) and specializes in analysis and description of anthropological problems as faced in missionary experience.

Continuing our series on imaginative Christian social action projects by Christian groups or churches, we publish a report on two very original and well-conceived projects in Japan.

the fact that the negro population of Warren County is only ten percent of the total, a relatively small percentage as compared to counties where the negroes comprise fifty percent or more of the total population. It is usually observed that prejudice against the negro is in direct proportion to the numerical strength of negroes in the total population, and this is in general true. Nevertheless, it does not tell the whole story. While Warren County has fewer negroes than certain counties in the neighbouring state of West Virginia, where desegregation has taken place with scarcely an incident, the problem here is much more acute. For one thing, Warren County was part of the battle ground of the Civil War and an active chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, an organization dedicated to keeping alive the memories of the tragic Civil War between the States, does its best to keep passions inflamed and prejudices fixed. There is no doubt but what the county is in many ways typical of the South with all the prejudices of the South against the negro represented. For another thing, as part of Virginia, Warren County is set in the context of a political system which is at present wedded to a course of action requiring absolute conformity to the accepted pattern of segregation. This allows Warren County no opportunity for manoeuvre and for experimentation with flexible proposals allowing for local option.

It is this fact which makes the situation here so poignant and impossible. The county is caught between doctrinaire alternatives -- massive segregation, on the one hand, and sweeping integration, on the other. It is within this context that the Church has had to bear its witness and within which the response of the Church must be understood. Caught between these two alternatives, what should the Church do?

The Ministers Take a Stand

Recently a gifted woman (with a degree from a leading Church college in Virginia) a member of my church, came to see me. She was bitter because of the closure of our high school, and she placed the blame for it on the Protestant clergy. "You ministers caused the trouble," she said. And then, as though she hadn't focused the source of trouble enough, she made it more pointed: "And you are the main agitator! For years you have preached that negroes are treated unfairly, and you more than anyone else have stirred up the trouble." My response was that she over-estimated my capacities and that the struggle of the negro for justice was part of a world wide revolution. Moreover, I reminded her, the pastors of the county, both in sermon and in signed statements of their position, stood together, and that in doing this they were in the main stream of the thought of the Church throughout the world and reflected its major ecumenical statements.

This criticism, nevertheless, intended not as a compliment but as an indictment, points to a fact which baffles many lay minds: namely, that pastors by and large stand for racial justice and against segregation. Even though in lay minds this amounts to a terrible stigma, it is witness to the fact that they have in varying ways associated themselves with the aspirations of the negro community. A recent poll by the Pulpit Digest of ministers in the South confirms the general impression that a large majority are opposed to segregation. In Warren County, the ministers have been almost unanimously opposed to segregation as an institution and they have been working quietly but steadily toward creating a climate favourable to desegregation in school and church.

Without making an issue of the matter, on numerous special occasions during the past decade, negroes have been invited to worship with white congregations on an

unsegregated basis. The Front Royal-Warren County Ministers' Association is unsegregated, and negro ministers have held elected positions in it. Several years ago at a memorable community Thanksgiving service a negro minister was given a prominent part in the service. Negro Christians have attended and participated in Good Friday services, Communion services, and in Leadership Training Schools accredited by the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

To say, as one often hears, that the ministers did not speak out on the race question until after the Supreme Court decision in 1954 is untrue to the facts. The famous court decision, however, did sharpen the issue and stimulated many statements on various levels of Church life expressing approval of the edict. Shortly after the Supreme Court decision in 1954, ministers of Warren County unanimously expressed their approval of the court decision in a statement, released to the press, formulated for the guidance of a member of the governor's commission to determine what course to take in the light of the court decision.

At that time, there was hope that Virginia would adopt a posture of compliance with the court order and the ministers of Warren County gave emphatic but tempered support to this position. Twelve of the county's leading clergymen signed a statement to this effect. Their composition by denomination was as follows: Church of Brethren (1), Coloured Methodist Episcopal (1), Episcopal (1), Methodist (3), Presbyterian U.S. (1), Southern Baptist Convention (3), Roman Catholic (1), and United Lutheran (1).

In their statement, the ministers made clear that "segregation is an injustice contradictory to the basic teachings of the Gospel." They affirmed that "our feelings in this matter are not only our personal convictions, but also are reflections of the official positions of our respective communions." After citing their denominations, they added: "In addition, similar positions have been taken publicly by the National Council of Churches of Christ in America and by the World Council of Churches." The statement expressed understanding, love, and respect for those "who may differ from this position." It concluded by saying: "It is our earnest prayer that the governor's commission will approach its task with an open mind and seek an answer in the light of our Gospel, the spirit and intent of our constitution as interpreted by our higher court, and the needs of our day and time."

The governor's commission, however, did not meet the issue squarely but sought to defy the court decree by evasive schemes. This was embodied in an amendment proposed in a state wide referendum in January 1956. The ministers of Warren County, together with many other ministers throughout Virginia, opposed the amendment in no uncertain terms. Their opposition was made public in a statement issued December 21, 1955, and signed by the unanimous actions of the ministers of Front Royal and Warren County (fifteen signed the statement). The following quotations indicate the tenor of the ministers' objections:

> The proposed amendment ignores the position of the United States as a leader among nations where its influence may well be jeopardized and damaged by action in the Mother State of Democracy which tends to give second-class citizenship to some of its people. Action aimed at keeping a minority group in check would be an affront to countless millions of people in southeastern Asia and other parts of the world.

> The proposed amendment runs counter to the best moral insights of all major religious groups, Hebrew and Christian, which have recorded themselves in numerous public statements, unanimously, as favouring the Supreme Court decision in the conviction that God wills that no barrier should keep his people divided.

The ministers' objections were shared by many Christian lay people in the county but they were of no avail. The amendment carried. Subsequently, the position on segregation in the public school hardened even more and the attitude of reluctant compliance with the court decision gave way to a policy of "massive segregation," a die-hard, defiant attitude of calculated resistance and evasion. The lines were drawn between two extreme positions, massive integration versus massive segregation, and the moderates who favoured a policy of gradual compliance along the lines of local option were silenced.

The Conflict over Church Facilities

The extremes to which the policy of massive segregation is being carried is illustrated in the case of Warren County High School. Rather than admit twenty-two negroes into Warren County High School and pursuant to massive segregation legislation enacted by Virginia, the local high school was closed. The law provided that the school might be returned to the county upon the request of the school board and the county board of supervisors at the discretion of the governor. The school could, then, be operated by the county, but without funds from the state which would be cut off until the legality of the law was tested in court.

The ministers, together with many responsible Christian laymen, took the position that the governor should be petitioned to return the school and that the county should accept a measure of desegregation. In a statement setting forth their position, the ministers of the county maintained that public schools with some desegregation was preferable to no school at all. They sought to rally the county behind a flexible approach to the desegregation issue and pointed out that "counties differ, local conditions are not the same; what is advisable in one county may not be in another." They asserted that the state policy of massive segregation ignored local conditions and that, while desegregation might be impractical in certain counties, it could be accomplished in Warren County if the county were given control of its own affairs. Thus, the ministers sought a middle way between massive segregation and sweeping integration, a plan of compliance which takes into account local conditions and provides for an orderly time table of accommodation to an inevitability.

In their statement, the ministers, also, protested the proposal that Church facilities be made available for private schools operated as an evasion of federal law. "We strongly emphasize," the statement said, "that we could not countenance the use of the Church of Jesus Christ as a means of evading federal law and continuing a pattern of life which opposes the very nature of the Church as the Body of Christ." Only one minister objected to the statement. Belonging to a fundamentalist, independent church, the temper of his objections can be evaluated from a statement which he read to the ministers which bore the endorsement of his local church. Here are pertinent quotations: "Segregation within the Church on racial, linguistic, and national lines is not unchristian nor contrary to the specific commands of the Bible;" "The Devil and his cohorts, the communists, want to destroy the Christian Church, and this is his way of doing it -- by integration (sic); " "Therefore, we believe that non-segregation is anti-Bible, anti-Christian, and anti-God."

While many lay people responded favourably to the ministers' statement, there was much opposition to it and the disposition on the part of many to isolate the ministers, to silence their voices, and even to terminate their tenure. Despite the protest of the ministers that the Churches should not be used as a tool of a secular culture to provide a haven for segregation in the form of private schools, a carefully planned and efficiently executed move was made to force the Church's hand and to make the Church yield to the pressure of the community. The plan to take over the churches began outside the Church. The strategy was to contact leading lay people in the Churches who were known to be segregationists and to have them lead a movement in their respective Churches to offer their facilities.

Four Churches were singled out and subjected to pressure: the Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, and two Baptist Churches. In the case of the two Baptist ministers, statements opposing the use of their Churches were made to their congregations. Their objections may be summarized as follows: (1) To consent to the use of Church facilities for the proposed school would be to agree to a plan which evades federal law and would embarrass the Church by putting it in a position of possible contempt of court; (2) It would sanction segregation in the name of God and bless a pattern of life which the Church in its responsible statements regards as contrary to the Bible, the teachings of Christ, and the meaning of the Church; (3) It would make the Church a tool of its culture for purposes alien to the teachings of the Church; and (4) It would embarrass and weaken the world-wide missionary movement of the Church. "Involved in this issue are not only the children of Warren County," one statement read, "but also the millions of children in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere who by our Church's approval of the proposal may be alienated from our Christian missionaries and the Gospel."

The ministers concerned did not expect to change any votes, but they wished to witness to their faith and to offer evidence to the world that they would not consent to the Church being made into a tool of segregation. In this decision, they were supported by a minority of their congregation, but the majority voted to grant the facilities. Some voted for the proposal because they saw the issue in simple terms, namely, the need to provide temporary education during an emergency, and they would deny that their motive was to support segregation. Others voted for the proposal because of fear of disapproval, reprisal, or loss of status. In some respects, the county has become totalitarian in its thinking and there are many intimidating factors which induce conformity, penalize independent thought, and threaten security. This was manifest in the vote, in that the segregation forces refused to permit the vote to be by secret ballot. They knew that in a standing vote many would be afraid to oppose granting of the facilities of the Church. This proved to be the case and numbers of persons who opposed the proposal, nevertheless, voted with the majority. In my own Church some had frankly told me that this was what they would do if the vote were by standing. Insight into the race problem is in great demand, but here was a case where courage was ultimately the deciding issue and where insight was of no avail because courage failed.

Lay Witness in a Totalitarian Climate

Despite the intimidating factors, the lay voice for restraint, moderation, and Christian brotherhood has not been completely silenced. In the fight for compliance with the court order along the lines of local option, the editor of a local weekly paper has been discerning and courageous. An Episcopalian, he has given expression to his Christian convictions in tempered editorials and factual reporting, and in

numerous editorials he has pointed to the answer in terms of a flexible approach to the difficult matter of complying with the court order. Because of his refusal to join militant segregationist forces, a number of persons have cancelled advertisements. One of the most courageous stands in the community has been taken by a leading woman in the Methodist Church who stood alone before a public meeting of citizen and quietly said that desegregation was Christian and that the county should open its high school to negroes. For this she has become known as a radical and branded "nigger-lover," and several bomb threats have been made against her husband's busines A notorious attempt was made to boycott a local store which employed a clerk whose husband is active in a small group dedicated to opening the high school even if it means desegregation. The threat was made by three persons who said they were organizing a boycott unless the owner discharged the clerk in question. The clerk was on the point of resigning her job to save her employer, but she was dissuaded from doing so by two ministers and the local editor on the grounds that yielding to threats would only encourage more intimidation. Fortunately, her employer, also a Christian layman, refused to yield to the pressure, and at this writing the clerk still has her job and the threatened boycott has not developed. Many Christians, even though segregationists, were sickened by the prospect of a boycott. A thought-provoking, even if somewhat erratic, witness was borne by a Baptist lay woman who refused to give a mission study which she had prepared, and gave as her reason that the local Churches did not really believe in missions in the Biblical meaning. It rather shocked numbers of persons who were made to see the discrepancy between segregated Churches sending missionaries to people of other races and the work of missionaries who teach that in Christ there is no barrier between the races.

Another form of pressure confronting laymen is the pressure put upon local business houses to discharge negro employees. The purpose of this pressure is to intimidate negroes into withdrawing their application to enter Warren County High School. To date this strategy has not succeeded because of the refusal of business men, who belong to the local Churches, to yield to this pressure. However, this is a kind of pressure which is expected to increase. There is a counter pressure which may be brought against it, and that is the possibility of economic reprisal against large corporations which manufacture products sold outside of Virginia. Already the local corporations have given evidence of being dissatisfied with the extremism of the segregationists and of the absurdity of closing the local high school to avoid desegregation. Thus, economic reasons combine with Christian motives to introduce some sanity into the county.

Another witness is being made by Christian public school teachers who are taking a stand for public schools. In the present context a stand for public schools is tantamount to a stand for some measure of desegregation. Here, again, motives are mixed for while many teachers do not favour desegregation they do favour public schools and would prefer to have some measure of desegregation than no public schools at all. However, there is a strong minority of school teachers who believe in desegregation on Christian and democratic grounds. In making their stand for public schools, the teachers have done so against the official line of the state authorities and in the face of considerable pressure. The measure of this pressure may be seen in the fact that the governor criticized them severely and the lieutenant governor publicly questioned the loyalty of teachers who were even mildly critical of the official state policy and who indicated their preference for public schools and their distaste for private schools as an evasion of the law.

In the present situation, Christians who work for the unity of the races in Warren County realize anew the meaning of the scripture: "For our wrestling is -- against the world-rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in high places." Evasive schemes attempt to thwart the purpose of God to bring reconciliation. But there are hopeful signs, and beyond these signs there is the conviction that while man can propose, God will dispose, that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth, and that ultimately His truth will prevail. Like Habakkuk we must write our witness in a book. "For the vision awaits its time; it hastens to the end -- it will not lie. If it seems slow, wait for it; it will surely come ---."

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT BY 312 CLERGYMEN IN U.S.A. ON RACIAL INTEGRATION

(Following is the text of a statement on the South's racial crisis signed by 312 Atlanta, Georgia clergymen, representing seventeen Protestant and Jewish denominations)

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the racial crisis in the South, and signed by eighty Atlanta ministers, was released for publication. The fact that this statement, often referred to as "The Atlanta Manifesto," received widespread publicity through the secular and religious press, radio, and television, not only in the South but across the nation and abroad, was an eloquent commentary upon the nature of the crisis in which we are involved and upon the failure of many of our leaders to confront the problems of our day in a spirit of realism.

Six principles set forth in this statement as essential to the solution of our problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The public school system must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom, but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

Deepening Danger

The months which have elapsed since the signing of that statement have been a period of deepening danger. The events of the recent past have been such as to call for growing concern on the part of all responsible citizens. In the light of these events, we are more convinced than ever of the fundamental truth of these six principles. It is abundantly clear that they cannot be ignored with impunity.

Because of our involvement in this situation, as citizens and religious leaders it has seemed to many Atlanta clergymen that some further statement on their part is appropriate. Out of that conviction comes this second statement. Once more we speak as individual citizens of Georgia and of the United States, having authority to represent no one other than ourselves. Once more we speak in humility and penitence. At the same time we speak out of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is right. We believe some facts are now so clear as to throw additional light upon the problems which confront us.

I.

It is clearer now than ever before that, at all cost, freedom of speech must be preserved. During the year which has passed, it has not become easier to speak the truth concerning our situation. There are still forces which seek to deny freedom of thought and of expression to all who do not insist upon maintaining a rigid pattern of segregation. Economic reprisals, social ostracism and even physical violence are constant threats to those who do not conform. Such threats strike at the very heart of democracy. As we insist upon the right of honest conviction, whether right or wrong, to be heard, we would pay tribute to the courageous individuals and groups in various walks of life, who have insisted that our problem must be faced in a spirit of realism, of sanity and of good will.

II.

It is clearer now than ever before that we must obey the law. Those who insist that the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools has no binding force do great injury to our people. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution has the effect of law in our country. It is possible for that court to err, just as it is possible for Congress to enact bad laws. The citizens of our country have the right to work through legal processes to secure the correction of judicial errors, or the repeal of undesirable legislation. They do not have the right to defy laws simply because they personally hold them to be unwise or harmful. A policy of obeying only those laws or those rulings of the courts with which we agree leads to anarchy. It is time for us to face up to the fact that, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, made in the discharge of its constitutional authority, enforced segregation in the public schools is now without support in, and contrary to, national law. At times in her history the church has opposed civil law in the name of the claims of the higher laws of God. However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States and its provisions for human rights is in accord with divine law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.

We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. There are some areas in which some integration in schools at this time would be possible without insurmountable difficulty, as has already been demonstrated in certain sections of the South, while there are other areas where such integration would involve needless hardship and grave danger. We have the hope that if our leaders will offer evidence of good faith toward providing constitutional rights for all citizens, the Federal Government will be willing to leave the working out of details in local hands. We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for a state to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

III.

It is clearer now than ever before that the public school system must be preserved

Many of our people have been led to believe that through some fictitious legal device we could close our public schools and still provide for public education through tax funds. Recent developments in Arkansas and Virginia serve to make it abundantly clear that any such hope is based solely upon wishful thinking. The choice which confronts us now is either the end of an enforced segregation in public schools or no public schools whatever. We are alarmed to note that many political leaders are apparently willing to offer no better solution than the closing of public schools and the destruction of public education in order to maintain what has been inappropriately described as "our sacred way of life." It is inconceivable that the South should deliberately destroy its dearly bought system of public education. The results of such action in the impoverishment of countless lives and the loss to our section, even from a purely economic viewpoint, would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action. Obviously, the closing of public schools means a small and favoured portion of our youth would be educated in private institutions, while the great majority, white and negro, would receive no school training worthy of the name. No democratic society can tolerate that situation, nor do we believe our citizens wish to sacrifice the welfare of our youth.

In this connection we would voice an emphatic protest against any suggestion that church property be used as a means of circumventing the law of the nation. The churches and synagogues owe a tremendous debt to the state and this we believe they would gladly repay in any legitimate way possible. There are times when the educational equipment of the churches should be offered to supplement the public school buildings in providing space for our growing school population, provided that the separation of church and state shall always be recognized and maintained in such an agreement. We concur that churches and synagogues have the right, as they have always had, to engage as they may deem wise in educational enterprise in the interest of their constituencies. We believe however, their facilities should not be offered nor demanded as a means for defying the constituted authority of our national Government.

IV.

It is clearer now than ever before that hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified. All hatred between races and groups within society carries with it the constant threat of violence and bloodshed, as has been evidenced by the bombing of churches, synagogues and schools even while this statement was being prepared. Defiance of one law leads to disrespect for all law. We would call upon our political leaders scrupulously to avoid the type of inflammatory utterance which has characterized too many public pronouncements in recent months and exert an influence for sanity, for justice and for kindness. We believe that multitudes of voters in the South as in all America are far more prepared to respond to and support fair-minded and statesmanlike attitudes and policies in political life than these men have realized. In any event, political power is by no means so important as to justify its attainment by the sacrifice of justice, of kindness and of truth, and by the unleashing of those emotions which threaten the very life of our people.

V.

It is clearer now than ever before that communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. The time of danger is also the time of opportunity. It may well be that we are passing through that darkest hour which comes just before the dawn. Never has there been greater need than now for men of good will in both races to voice their convictions, to exert their influence and to maintain open lines of communication. We are heartened by the intelligent concern and struggle of an increasing number of groups who are facing the issue and its

implications. We are likewise heartened by the constructive results which are coming from those lines of communication which do exist between the races.

VI.

It is clearer now than ever before that our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom, but only through prayer, obedience to God and under His blessing. The situation which confronts us is one which calls for sincere penitence, for earnest prayer, for clear thought and for courageous action.

Believing sincerely in the principles set forth in this statement, we therefore propose the following practical steps:

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront. We believe such discussion should and would give careful consideration to the moral, spiritual and legal aspects of the crisis we face in our beloved Southland.

2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan. Such plan must be consistent with the law of the land, respect and preserve the rights of all citizens and assure the preservation of our system of public education.

3. We request the appointment of a citizens' commission to preserve the harmony of our community. Public officials of our city have earned the tribute of the nation for their refusal to condone violence and their efforts to realize worthy race relations. We believe that in the future the need will be great for the support of calm, intelligent public opinion. Atlanta possesses business, civic, educational, legal, political and religious leadership of the quality to afford this support.

We, therefore, request that representatives of this leadership from the races involved be formed into a citizens' commission to advise and assist in maintaining harmony and goodwill among all our classes.

Every section of our state also possesses the same able leadership. We, therefore, believe that the appointment of a similar citizens' commission by the State Administration would serve to preserve harmony among the citizens of Georgia.

We call upon all citizens to unite with us in dedicating ourselves to the solution of our problems humbly, patiently, in a spirit of realism and with God's help.

II

A WESTERN ECONOMIST SPEAKS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF INDIA ABOUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

by

Gunnar Myrdal

1. State planning for economic development

... The first point I wish to make, is obvious, though not always remembered. To draw up an overall State economic plan for economic development, to be prepared to take radical economic policy measures for this purpose, to co-ordinate by that plan all these State economic policies, and to do it in a political setting of full parliamentary democracy which is what you are trying to do in India, ... is an entirely new and unique thing in history. State interventions were never given that role in the now highly developed countries, when they were in their pre-industrial and early industrial stage, and State interventions were never co-ordinated in a unified effort of central State economic planning. And these countries were at that time not democracies, founded on universal suffrage.

The reason why the underdeveloped countries today have to give to the State so much greater responsibilities than the State ever had in our countries ... is, of course, that the conditions for economic development are very different and much less favourable in the as yet underdeveloped countries than they once were in the now highly developed countries... Let me just quickly refer to the main differences.

The average levels of income are very much lower in the underdeveloped countries; in India the national income per head is perhaps only a third or a fifth of what it was in the now developed countries when once they started out, hundred or two hundred years ago. These other countries had available an international capital market where lenders were competing to provide them with capital disposal at a rate of interest often around 3 per cent and sometimes lower. The population growth had not in advance cumulated to such a tremendous pressure on the land, and the population prospects were less dynamic and sinister than they now are here under the influence of the explosive advance of medical science. The mere magnitude of the problem of the underdeveloped countries is also totally different. The now developed countries had small populations; I believe England had only around ten million people in pre-industrial time. The now highly developed countries could rise as small islands in a large ocean of undeveloped peoples, could exploit them as sources of raw materials and markets for cheap industrial goods and could for this purpose even keep them under colonial domination. Now it is, instead, this whole "outside world" which is rising and craving for economic development and a more equal share.

Central State planning we saw first in Russia, and I believe that the Soviet Union should be given its due recognition as originator on a large scale of this idea, in the light of which you are now operating. But here in this region you want to accomplish economic development in a setting of a parliamentary political system built on free elections and universal suffrage.

India's First and Second Five-Year Plans are thus a truly pioneering effort, an attempt to do a totally new thing in history...

2. Human values and political implementation.

I have a great admiration also for the earnest devotion India has given to spelling out the basic human values and principles upon which its planning is found the broader social aims the nation wants to reach. I admire also the great educational efforts in India to bring economic planning to the people, to reach the masses and get them to feel that they have a stake and to get them to understand what this stake is... Essentially an economic plan is a political programme. It consists, as a matter of fact, in a co-ordinated system of political decisions. Th technical work has no other purpose than to prepare for such political decisions. And no work even on details in the plan can proceed successfully except on the basi of continually taken political decisions. If the Government and the Parliament should attempt to escape this direct responsibility, planning would sink down to ar intellectual exercise, useful and, as I believe, essential, but not much different from the high level discourse of nationally important issues which you should have the right to expect from your free universities and from individual scholars and research institutes...

3. Flexibility in central planning.

Rigidity should not be the signum of economic planning. A main general weakness of an underdeveloped country is, in fact, rigidity in its entire structure, and economic planning should not add a new element to the rigidity its economy is suffering from.

Rather one great purpose of central economic planning should be to make it more possible for the Government and Parliament to adjust in a rational way to the changed circumstances, the new experiences won, and, indeed, to new nuances in your own views on how things are and how they ought to be. The purpose of economic planning should not be to put a nation into a self-imposed shackle, but instead to liberate its efforts for progress and to give the Government a maximum of freedom and flexibility to take advantage of the terrain as it walks on and to avoid stepping into pitfalls...

4. Balance between national and regional planning.

My next point is the observation that India's economic planning - and the planning efforts in all countries of the region - is narrowly nationalistic. This has to be viewed against the background of the fact that initially trade and econom relations generally between the countries in this region are on unnaturally and abnormally low levels and, except for the new airlines, which can take people aroun who can afford it, and some merchandise which can pay very high transport costs, that even regular transport facilities are grossly underdeveloped between most of the countries in the region...

Without developing this theme any further I will just mention that the main explanation of this extraordinary situation in this region is generations and centuries of colonial domination, economic underdevelopment and general cultural stagnation.

The national communities which came into being when colonialism disintegrated, inherited this situation and they naturally as their first task had to consolidate the new nation-States. In many of the countries of the region there is still much to accomplish in order to reach this first goal: a well integrated and effectively operating modern nation-State. The economic planning which stood out as an urgent necessity and which has been carried on with varying degrees of success in the several countries, had to be a narrowly national planning...

Politics is the art of making the best of what is possible, but the secret of great statesmanship is to do someting more. While turning what is actually possible to the best results, it will at the same time be bent upon changing the conditions for what in future can be practical politics...

Though I am quite clear that for the time being nothing else than national autarkic planning is rational, practical and even possible in India and the other countries of this tropical region under the arch of the Himalayas, I am firmly convinced that in twenty and perhaps fifteen or even ten years time the problem of closer economic cooperation between the countries in this region will stand out as an eminently practical and important problem.

I am then making the assumption that India and the other countries in the region will have a reasonable success in engendering substantial economic development along the lines they have chosen. This is a very important assumption for my reasoning which might not come true. And I would want in passing to make the further observation that in spite of the abnormally low level of commercial relations between these countries, the political interdependence between them, as a matter of fact, is so close, that it is difficult to believe that any one of these countries, say even India, would succeed to develop economically while the neighbouring States would go to the dogs.

5. Of things to come (Vision of the future)

But, and this is my second point, the advantage of closer economic cooperation will stand out as so much greater, when these countries advance - as I have assumed they will - in their economic development. They are all bent on industrialisation. To build up a complete structure of industry in each country is, however, not very possible and is anyhow, not very economical. And it becomes less possible and profitable with every day, as modern technology is giving, on the whole, more and more advantage to large size of an industrial establishment.

These countries can all proceed much faster in their industrial development if they establish, through trade, a division of labour and a certain specialisation amongst themselves. This holds particularly true, of course, of the smaller countries in the region, like Ceylon. But it is also true, though to a lesser extent, for a country as big as India. I have found here in India a certain optimistic exaggeration of India's possibility to have rapid industrial development in all fields and a belief that the vast size of the population in this country can be relied upon as offering industry a huge, almost inexhaustible selfcontained market. But the size of the market depends upon, not only the number of people, but also their average income and purchasing power. And from a cold economic point of view India, in spite of its huge population, is still - and will for many five-year plans ahead remain - a rather small country economically, with a market size not very much bigger than that of one of the smaller countries in the North-Western region

of Europe, of whom none would think of the possibility to expand further on a basis of self-sufficiency in industry...

What I am here suggesting is that it would be in the mutual interest of the countries of this region, if they could arrange their industrial protection as a regional protection and not simply as a national one. These countries have much more valid economic reasons for a "common market" than the richer countries in Western Europe...

I believe in ten, fifteen or twenty years' time the idea of a common market of this region will impose itself into practical politics for still another reason, namely, the increasing difficulties I foresee for these countries to keep up the flow of their exports to the richer countries. The traditional exports from this region of many primary products, like tea, rubber, jute, cotton, etc. have not expanded in pace with world trade, and they face a bleak future...

Very rightly all the underdeveloped countries in the region are now bent upon rapid industrialisation as their main long-term chance of economic development. The first problem in India is very definitely to raise agricultural yields, because a very much larger supply of food is a condition for any economic expansion; lack of food is continuously India's main bottleneck. But this does not countersay the proposition that a substantially higher level of income per head in India can only be reached on the basis of a very much expanded volume of industrial production, which it will take many five-year plans to accomplish. On these higher levels of income and industrial production India will continuously need much bigger imports, however much India succeeds to produce at home. India's traditional exports will, as I noted, probably not rise very much. Consequently, India must then be a large exporter of manufactured industrial goods. Mutatis mutandis, the same holds true for all or most of the countries in the region.

This large-scale industrial export offensive on a broad front, when it comes and it must come, if we keep to my assumption that these countries will have a reasonable success in their economic development - will then meet, I am afraid, a most determined resistance in the richer countries, in comparison with which the discrimination in trade which has met, and is meeting, Japan is a mere child play. The wages in these countries will continually be relatively low, and their exports will be looked upon as dumping...

6. Labour productivity.

If I am given a little more time, I would still skip altogether the important problem of the overriding priority that in my view should be given to agriculture in India's planning, the problem also of the relative priorities to different industries, the problem of the financial frame and of savings and taxation, capital inflow from abroad and foreign aid, etc., and would concentrate my thoughts on the first paramount imperative in India's situation if it wants to advance substantially and rapidly. That paramount imperative is to my mind the urgent importance to raise labour productivity.

There is a danger that in our endeavours to procure the machines and the tools and to build the factories and the dams and to find the money to finance it all, we become too materialistic and forget the human factor, the people, whose bodies and minds must be the chief depository of a developing nation's savings and investments

The main difference between an underdeveloped country and a developed one is in the human factor, and I want to stress that I am saying this as an economist and not only as a humanitarian. In a developed country people work more, and work harder, and work more efficiently. In an underdeveloped country there is permanently unemployment and underemployment, and I believe the people in India work perhaps not much more than half the number of hours a year compared with what people do in a developed country - and what the Indian people must come to do if this country shall become developed. And when they work their efficiency is low. This is true even of the professors, the students, the officials and engineers and, I would assume, the politicians also, except a few who fortunately and naturally tend to rise to the top. It is of course still more true of the large masses of labourers and peasants whose low levels of living, malnutrition and ill-health often prevents them from working at all, or working the whole time, and when they are working, prevents them from working so hard and so efficiently.

One adverse factor is, naturally, the climate... But if we don't want to give up, we are not allowed to give too much weight to the weather. We have rather the direct intensive research on the practical problem: by what means we will be able to make sustained, hard and efficient work possible also in the tropics.

The two main development problems in India are therefore: (1) how to get the population into fuller employment and to liquidate not only unemployment but the much more serious underemployment. (2) How to raise labour efficiency.

The task is simply to increase the number of effective work hours per year for the entire population in the working age, the labour force, and at the same time to increase the efficiency of work, so that more is produced per work hour. In the final instance, India's economic planning will succeed or fail depending on this human factor: whether India can get its population to work more and better and to produce more.

There is no lack of work to be done: industrial plants to be constructed and equipped, lands to be made to yield more than they do, houses to be built and repaired, latrines, drains and sanitary wells to be dug, trees to be planted, books to be printed and books to be read, floors and streets to be swept and cleaned, children to be washed and educated, sick and old people to be cared for, etc., etc. All this work of whatever type, flows into, and raises, the national income, increases savings and investments, lifts levels of living, on the basis of which still more intensive work can then be done. The result is economic development.

7. Investment for labour potential.

Some of this work requires capital equipment, which, however, in the end itself consists of labour, pent-up labour. Some of it can be done by the use of nothing more than our brains and our bare hands. The Prime Minister has recently very rightly reminded us that a speeding up of popular education in the villages doesn't even require school buildings, as the teacher can assemble the children in the shade of a tree and give vacation when the monsoon comes. The requirement is will and ambition, or if you look one step behind and ask how to mobilize will and ambition, what we call enterprise and organisation. The requirement is also improved nutrition and health, which can give strength to work, and education that can lift the ambition of people living in apathy; apathy is, indeed, the cultural impact of long ages of backwardness. But these requirements, too, represent themselves, in the final instances, more work and better workmanship.

We are here facing the crux in planning for economic development. I will in this connection only point to one very important element of cumulative causation. I am in my studies becoming increasingly impressed by the fact that the low labour efficiency in an underdeveloped country... is largely an effect of the fact that people are not working or working only fewer hours than would be desirable.

Unemployment and underemployment signify a lack of scarcity of labour which i deeply demoralising... Around every piece of work to be done, there are too many workers hanging around... You are, of course, well aware of the fact that a regula situation in some of the most modern factories in India is that a machine which in Sweden or Germany, the Soviet Union or the United States is serviced by one man or woman, here will need two, three, four or even five men. In spite of low wages th actual labour costs to the industry then often approach or exceed the levels in the richer countries with their higher wages, but also higher labour efficiency. Your industry is then not competitive and will lack the strength for expansion.

In this social and psychological climate of lack of scarcity of labour the workers are in the same way often brought to show resistance to rationalization because it is labour-saving. In India as in other underdeveloped countries labour legislation and the administration through labour courts and officials of the labour laws are often raising hindrances for technological changes in the interest of higher labour efficiency, much more than they do in our highly developed countries. In the existing situation of surplus labour, they may even see good reason for doing it, but this is only part of the vicious circle by the operation of whic lack of scarcity of labour causes low levels of efficiency of labour.

There is, of course, only one solution to this: people must be set to work. Labour must become scarce and expensive. Only then can we permanently and over th whole field increase labour efficiency. Only then will the employer be made to av wasting labour - in the present situation to employ more labour than is needed see sometimes a socially good behaviour. Only when labour has become scarce and expen sive, will the worker wholeheartedly welcome rationalization as a means by which his labour can become still more scarce and expensive.

I think we should not conceal to ourselves that reaching such a situation wil imply the sacrifice by the well-to-do classes in an underdeveloped country of certain amenities and conveniences which they are now enjoying. The society we have to strive for is a society where we are not surrounded by unemployment and cheap labour; where we have to carry our own bags; where regularly ministers and profess and their wives and children, according to an increasingly democratic cooperation within a family, will have to sweep their own floor, prepare their own food, take care of their own babies; where perhaps every family has one or two automobiles, but nobody can have a chauffeur; and where the few servants there are, are professionals with salaries not very different from the salaries of a professor or a minister...

This must be the direction of their development efforts. Labour must be made scarce and expensive. Only then will labour productivity rise. Only then will rapid economic development ensue as an almost automatic process.

Indeed, not before labour has become an expensive commodity can we reach far with our social reforms. I am not criticising the important constitutional, legal financial and administrative steps that the Indian Parliament has taken to blot ou

that shameful phase of the stale caste system in India which is present in the inferior social and economic status of the casteless, but true equality for the Harijans India will realise first when unemployment and underemployment have been liquidated, and when human labour has become expensive.

Your Prime Minister has a few days ago had occasion to stress again, what he has stressed often before, namely, that the status of women is one of the most important indicators of the advance of a country. I would like to add that the full equality of women in India - not only in the upper classes, where they largely enjoy it, but in villages and among the masses - will only be reached when what women can produce with their brains and hands has a greater economic value in India's economy.

Scarcity of labour has in this way important relations with moral values, and cheap labour means unfortunately that human beings and their welfare become cheap also. There is one general ideal which I would have liked to see stressed more in the excellent preamble to India's Five-Year Plan, namely, respect and esteem for manual labour. As we all know such a valuation of manual labour would have the support of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, whom you are so exceedingly fortunate to be able to name the Father of the Nation. But it is certainly not enough to express a general moral principle. It is not even enough to legislate that principle. Respect in Indian society for manual labour will come when labour is not available in such almost scandalous surplus, when it is scarce and expensive. And then India will be far on the way to economic development.

8. Increase of employment opportunities.

The practical problem for the planner is how can more employment be created? How can the demand for labour be raised so much and so rapidly as to make labour scarce and expensive?

We are all agreed that the long-term solution is industrialisation. But we also know that industrialisation does not create a great volume of new employment in the short run. More particularly, the effect of industrialisation to raise employment is not large and may for a time even be negative, insofar as industry comes to substitute for crafts and insofar as industrial production is becoming rationalised, which India must try to accomplish if it wants its industry to be fully competitive and have the strength for expansion. Again I will refer to the little study of the economic development in Soviet Central Asia in last year's Economic Bulletin for Europe, where it is shown that even an exceedingly rapid industrial development, which has already been going on for decades, has as yet hardly begun to absorb the population increase in the rural sector of society.

While India is expanding its industry as rapidly as possible it will... at the same time have to try to increase work in all sectors outside industry. I pointed to the great amount of work which needs to be done everywhere in the country on roads and irrigation systems, building and repairing houses, in restoration, improving facilities for health and education and, naturally, of raising yields in agriculture. Much of this work lies right before everybody's nose. Much of it will have a direct effect of improving the quality of the labour force and raising labour efficiency. All that is done in the field of community development, agricultural extension service, cooperation, basic education and health reform has, from this point of view, this important extra motivation that it puts people to

work and thus raises the scarcity of labour. It creates in people's mind the realisation that one should work, that one should do something with the passing hours to improve life for oneself and those who are dear to one.

I for my part would not hesitate to consider also taking out the youth of th country - all the young men and women - for one or two years' public service. I would use the time I had then under the national colours for improving their education; it would in India be an education already to live together under a common discipline. To administer such camps I would look for aid to your excellent army and the soldiers who are set free after their release from the army.

And I would not permit the continuation of a situation of half a million educated unemployed assembling in the city's slums - a serious demonstration of misdirected higher education in a country which has not too much but very much too little education - but put them to work as teachers in the camps for public servic and send them to the villages to intensify the much needed literacy drive among th peasants. After retraining and rehabilitation some of them should go to industry, where there is a serious lack of literate workers...

There are certainly things which a Communist regime would do in India... The chief bottleneck is, of course, bringing about a united national will to devel opment. If the Communist countries can proceed more courageously and rapidly in expanding work and increasing the scarcity of labour, we are deceiving ourselves and at the same time saying something very sad about our own future, if we believe that their higher discipline is merely the result of the police state...

The real challenge to the independent new democracies in this region, raised by Communism, is not a military threat and not what is called subversion, but is this most serious question which has, as yet, not been satisfactorily answered: whether in a country on very low levels of living the forces of democracy will succeed to invest in the people that minimum of concerted determination to advance and that minimum of national discipline, which are necessary for economic development under the hard conditions of mass poverty, while preserving political freedom and full civil liberties.

It would be dishonest to minimise the tremendous difficulties in the way India's development efforts to increase the demand for labour through industrialisation, community development, cooperation and all other things, which India is doing and might come to do for the purpose. Under such circumstances we cannot afford to fail to look also on the problem what India can do to decrease the supply or rather, decrease the constant increase of supply of labour which ensues as a consequence of the rapid and accelerating increase of the population. This is the other side of the basic human problem I am discussing...

(Further excerpts from Dr. Myrdal's address will be published in the next issue)

III

"THE REASON HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED" : A BRIEF STUDY IN RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE

(In the fall of 1956, a surprise attack by the people of the area took place on a Christian and Missionary Alliance mission station in the Wisselmeren area of interior New Guinea. The wife of one of the missionaries reports on the uprising as follows; this account and the observations of an anthropologist are reprinted from Practical Anthropology, September-October 1957, Vol.4: No.5.)

"He sends the sunshine and the rain." Would the airplane come or not? was what we pondered as the cloudy and rainy day for the dedication of the new mission plane came. But when we learned it was landing in Obano, we set out for there in two motor boats, still hoping for a picnic lunch on the way back. As I look back, two things stand out in my memory. One was the lack of natives at the dedication service, and the other a huge smoke going up on the mountainside to our left as we stood waiting for the rain to slacken. We listened to the singing of the extension school children and the message from our area secretary, Rev. Chrisman, who was visiting our field at this time. God was more interested in the dedication of our lives than our possessions (although He wanted both), was the theme of the message, and we prayed together committing the plane into His care and keeping. The rain continued gently, but by the time we were eating our picnic lunch indoors, it was coming down full force. As we splashed through the mud and the rain back to the boats and across the lake, little did we realize the rain was a blessing in disguise.

As we walked back up the hill to our homes, we talked of the rumors that were going around from the pig feast that had been held only the Wednesday before. Was it true that the natives had said they were going to kill off the foreigners or outside people? Yes, it was true that at the pig feast only the far-away pigs were killed and sold, and the nearby ones saved for the following day when there would be no "visitors" looking on and listening to their plans. Yes, even the schoolboys had been talking far into the night, Miss Elza Stringer, our teacher from Holland, said, but they did not know of the intended time or place. I don't think anyone at the time thought it too serious. (It was only in God's providence that Elza had decided on the spur of the moment to come over from Obano with us for the weekend.) If we had only known the natives were gathered up on the mountainsides around Obano planning an attack that did not materialize that day because of rain, we would have praised God for His protection.

It was the following day, November 4, after the church service that had been attended mostly by women and children, that they struck. Slipping up through the tall grass round about with their bows and arrows and, after first getting the two guns of the policemen that had gone over with us to protect the place, they killed the Biak policeman, our Indonesian teacher and his wife, the Lesnusas, and two Indonesian children of two other couples who were staying with them attending school. The fingers of Mr. Lesnusa were cut off and sent to other villages. If any village accepted the fingers, it meant that they, too, joined forces to get rid of all outsiders. Schoolboys who tried to protect the Lesnusas were told to step aside or be shot themselves, so they fled. The houses and newly built schoolbuildings and storage building were raided and burned. The airplane was completely ruined as they

hacked away on it with hatchets, not only that day but also days later. They used axes that had been in the plane for the drop.

A native pastor a couple of hours' walk from here first saw the burning buildings and ran here to tell us. By that time we could see the smoke rising up over the mountain that hides Obano from our view here. Quickly the men obtained a fast motor boat from the government and started across the lake. On a small island in the lake, they stopped and climbed to the top. By looking through binoculars, they could see the buildings burned to the ground. They returned and, although Mr. Troutman and Mr. Ulrich, our pilot, attempted once more to reach the plane, it was thought best to stop for the night.

Later during the week, the bodies were brought over for burial. Mr. Lesnusa's body had been mutilated--arms off to the elbow and nose missing. It is believed they may have eaten it.

Areas to the east of us and across the lake accepted the fingers and, although attacks were made on Enarotali here, by that time outside help (Marines) had arrived.

As the news went over the two-way radio to our other stations here in New Guinea invariably the question came, "Do you know the reason for the uprising?" From different sources came various answers, such as sickness of their pigs, the old ones losing grip on the younger generation, changes in government leadership, rebellion against civilization being forced upon them, "cargo cult" (that is, they were asked what they would do when their gardens were gone, and they answered that the airplane would bring in their supplies). Also, one chief had two dreams, one being that the lake came up to the top of the highest mountain here, and the fulfillment of that dream was when he was put in jail here. The other dream was that he killed five policemen himself (in his dream), and now was the time to strike.

Although the above are possibilities, the real reason has not yet been determined by the Dutch government. Each area has surrendered, and we again have peace.

M.L.

* * * * *

Comment from a Social Anthropologist

Even in this brief report from Mrs. Larson, it is very clear that the missionaries in the Wisselmeren region of New Guinea are confronted with a nativistic revolt such as has often characterized the reaction of peoples when they see their culture disintegrating under the pressure of Western culture and even of missions. The events which have occurred are symptomatic of a serious cultural disease. The area may have been pacified, but the disease is still there.

The symptoms indicate that the Kapaukus feel rapid changes are taking place in their midst. They have lost their footing, their security. They tried to re-establish the pre-mission status quo, and they were suppressed. As Christians interested in society and in culture, deeply concerned about the Christian witness, how shall we view these events?

We can decide that the missionaries are God's responsibility, pray for them, and wash our hands of the affair.

We can blame the whole affair on the devil and consider that the devil was at least temporarily defeated by the law-enforcement agencies.

We can point out that there are always some people who reject the Gospel and consider that by so saying we have solved the problem.

Each of these reactions we might have is a truism, but if we stop with any of them we have been guilty of rationalization, for we have ignored the lessons of cultural history. This is not to say that God and Satan have not been at work in cultural history, but the cultural forces are there for us to study and to understand, and our present tragedy is such a clear instance of a type of event which has been studied often and deeply in other places and whose implications are beginning to be known.

The safety of the mission staff is involved. But more than that, the whole future of the church in the area is involved. It is not that this hard-won little church is likely to be snuffed out by such a period of troubles, but it is the vitally important fact that the church is related to a culture which is in the spasms of a pathological culture change, and the church must speak to that culture in its time of need if it is ever to be rooted soundly in the Wisselmeren.

The situation in the Wisselmeren area warrants a serious anthropological investigation by a Christian anthropologist able to assess the present cultural turmoil and able to help others learn to tell the Good News in a manner relevant to the Kapauku's needs as the Kapauku sees them, and relevant to the emerging future. There is far too much at stake to "muddle through" here.

W.A.S.

IV.

IMAGINATIVE ACTION PROJECTS BY THE CHURCH IN JAPAN

KIYOSATO EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT

(K E E P)

- An imaginative project in rural community development and a case of international cooperation at the grass-roots level -

The location: Kiyosato Village, Yamanashi Prefecture, Japan. Approximately ninety miles northwest of Tokyo, at the foot of Mount Yatsu. KEEP itself is approximately 4,000 feet above sea level.

The sponsor: The Brotherhood of St. Andrew in Japan and the North American Committee for the Japan Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

- I -

The project owes its initiation to one man's imagination, zeal and determination.

Dr. Paul F. Rusch, an ex-missionary professor in the School of Business Administration at St. Paul's University, Tokyo, was a U.S. Army officer, stationed at the GHQ, Tokyo, 1945-49.

Seeing the plight of post-war Japan he came to realize that the number one problem for the reconstruction of Japan was the well-rounded development of community life in rural areas.

After he was honourably discharged from his military service, he returned to the United States, appealed to Christians throughout the country and Canada by personally telling his story, and got a voluntary group organized to help his project get under way.

The Japanese people, crushed by defeat in the war, dismayed and disillusioned, did not know which way to turn. The Christian Churches, though given official backing by the GHQ, were utterly unequipped to tackle the problem of the reconstruction of Japan. Numerically less than one half of one percent of the total population and furthermore divided among Protestants, Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics, Christians had neither the political influence nor economic power to cope with the odds against them. All the organized Christian bodies were compelled prior to the Pacific war to sever their relationships with, and to discontinue receiving financial aid from, the Churches in the West.

At the end of the war, the mission boards of the Western Churches were more than willing to help the Churches in Japan to get started, but not to return to the former status of mission-supported Churches. The Japanese Churches, however, in the face of such an enormous hardship confronting them, could hardly refrain

from falling back into the "mission-depending mentality" of the pre-war days. This was, though quite understandable, a real temptation to the Churches in Japan.

The Japanese people in general were quite convinced by their own militarist-oriented propaganda that there was not enough land for them to support themselves and that every available acre of land had been put to productive use and not a bushel more of rice could be raised in Japan, and therefore unless foreign countries extended some substantial help, Japan just could not live as a nation.

This project is based on the flat denial of such pessimism and struck a note of hope that the problem was not unsurmountable and challenged their imagination, conscience and tenacity.

- II -

The project is based on a sound scientific survey of the possibility of securing an extension of cultivated acreage through reclamation of unproductive land. In 1948 the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests reported that as much as 12,355,000 acres might be physically reclaimable.

Supported by such statistical data, Dr. Rusch began to talk with some Japanese Christian leaders, many of whom were formerly his students at St. Paul's and were then holding responsible positions in Japanese society. Having the assurance that there was a core of Japanese Christians who were prepared to venture on a project the future of which was both "unknown and unforeseeable", Dr. Rusch set out for fund-raising in the USA and Canada. International collaboration became one of the significant features of this project.

a) Without the initiative on the part of the Japanese (though it had to be aroused by an American, the important thing is that it was aroused), financial aid from Christians abroad would not have done what it has done.

b) At that point, without material aid coming from abroad, Japanese Christians alone, no matter how enthusiastic and how determined, could not have started anything which would have been of lasting significance.

c) It may not be without significance that the project is not sponsored by the organized Church, either in Japan or in the USA, either a denomination or a mission board, but by a group of volunteers who formed an international group, KEEP Zaidan, Inc.

The project developed step by step on the "pay-as-you-go" basis. It was a stroke of good fortune that in 1938 the Japan Brotherhood of St. Andrew, under the leadership of the same Dr. Rusch, had leased a piece of land (900 acres of sloping mountain side) from the prefectural government of Yamanashi-ken and on it had built a group of cabins for summer camp purposes. This site is situated approximately 4,500 feet above sea-level, at the foot of Mount Yatsu approximately 9,000 feet above sea-level, in a marginal mountain area, neither fit for rice fields, nor for forestry - a small fraction of the 12,355,000 acres reported as "physically reclaimable".

The idea struck Dr. Rusch that if this hitherto unused and therefore remaining unproductive piece of land could be turned into agriculturally productive land, then the Japanese people might be convinced that over ten million acres could also be reclaimed. In fact, as a site for an agricultural experiment,

there could have been no place worse than this from the technical standpoint of agriculture. There was not a single factor that made this place favourable except the extremely uncertain thought that if one succeeded here, then it would be a decided proof that most of the 12,355,000 acres could certainly be reclaimed

First step: Human assets - the Chapel as a rallying point.

The Bishop (Japanese Anglican) of the Diocese in which this site is located was persuaded to station a young, vigorous clergyman there when there was not a single Christian among the several thousand villagers in the neighbourhood. With the small fund collected and by the labour donated by many volunteers a chapel was built as the centre of all future activities and as the "power-house" of the project, as Dr. Rusch put it.

A handful of young men, all city-bred, with hands unsoiled by dirt, made up the first core of work-campers, living in the cabins of pre-war construction. They quietly put the ground in order which had been run down during the war years, began to make contact with villagers, acquainting themselves with the actual conditions prevailing among them.

Second step: Public health - rural clinic

What made strongest impression on those young men was that of health. For one thing, they discovered there was no doctor available within that area including no less than 100,000 people. This situation has been completely changed in the subsequent years. People were suffering from malnutrition, not only from the war-time shortage of food, but more chronically from the traditional unbalanced diet. So the first project was centered on the establishment of a rural clinic which was made possible by the all-out cooperation of St. Luke's Internaional Medical Center, Tokyo, 90 miles away from Kiyosato.

Third step: Need for enlightenment - Rural library

It soon became apparent that most of the villagers were utterly unaware of the real nature of their own plight, let alone their potentialities which remained hidden and untapped. There was no use preaching to them on what they might try in order to improve their lot, until they wanted to improve it themselves. So a rural library was built, a small, modern room attached to the chapel with a still more modest collection of books, a mixture of leisure-time reading and popular agricultural magazines and books. One of the young men used to carry a boxful of books on his back from village to village (a rural version of a travelling library!).

Fourth step: Moulding public opinion - discussion groups

The rural clinic and library brought these young men closer to the life of the villagers. During the long winter months there took place a lot of leisurely visiting back and forth between them. As a matter of natural course, conversation often turned to the welfare of the people, their hardships, and how to alleviate them. The possibility of dairy-farming became a topic of conversation and then of serious inquiry and exploration.

Fifth step: Attack upon two related problems at one stroke - better diet for each and more food for all - model farm of highland agriculture (a novelty in Japan).

It was entirely out of the question to try to raise rice in this area.

But all sorts of grass and brush flourish. The soil is not entirely unfertile though the volcanic ash content is high. Why not experiment with other kinds of crops, on the one hand, and with cattle, on the other?

About 20 different kinds of vegetables, 18 Jersey milk cows and one bull were imported from the USA. With a barn, a silo and hurriedly leveled pasture, the farm project went underway.

Sixth step: Demonstration of concerted and integrated approach - rural community centre

Even with all these noteworthy experiments underway, the farmer in the village did not become interested. After all, Dr. Rusch was an American and those young men with him were city boys; and although they seemed concerned about the plight of the farmers and about agriculture, the language they used set them apart from the village folk.

At the same time, within the project there set in the process of departmentalisation. The clinic, the library, the farm, tended to operate each in its own direction or in isolation from the others. To correct this situation an earnest effort was made, through periodical staff meetings, to integrate all the specialized aspects of the project under the spiritual guidance of the chaplain and to eliminate the social distance between the project and the villagers through his pastoral and evangelistic ministry in the villages. The parish, although numerically still not very strong, came to gain importance as it included in its membership both villagers and the staff of the project.

Seventh step: Reintegration of disintegrated community - Reconstruction of rural life

When the project attained inter-departmental coordination and became a community in itself, it began to relate itself to the life of the villagers in a more positive way. Since 1953, it has sponsored a two-day "county fair" every summer on the project grounds. At the first fair, a box lunch with a glass of milk was served free of charge to all who came. The lunch contained no rice, but with potatoes, tomatoes and several kinds of vegetables, with a little piece of meat, constituted a nutritious, tasty and satisfying meal. The milk took the place of the tea without which no Japanese thinks a meal is complete. This demonstrated to the conservative villagers that they did not necessarily have to depend on rice and rice alone to fill up their stomachs.

At each fair these are a series of contests: well-baby contest by the clinic, milk cow contest and pasture contest sponsored by the Farm for which the agricultural scientists and technicians from the Government Agricultural Experiment stations are invited as judges. For children and youths there is art, photography, oratorical contests, sponsored by the library. For these local school teachers and others are invited to serve as judges.

The county fair is not complete without entertainment and side-shows. One evening is set aside for the traditional Bon-Odori (folk dance). In connection with the awarding of prizes for various contests, impromptu stage shows are presented by individuals and groups from among the villages (no commercial entertainments). The cross-country marathon is entered by nearly a hundred athletic minded young men and boys.

The county fair does several things:

a) It gives hundreds of villagers a chance to set their feet into the KEEP grounds and see with their own eyes what is going on there;

b) it brings various sectors of rural communities together. For example, it gives a unique opportunity for farmers and agricultural engineers and technicians of the local government to get together in an informal and friendly atmosphere and discuss their problems;

c) it gives the farmer's family as a whole a day of wholesome fun and rest;

d) it offers an opportunity for practical learning through "contests" because the judges' remarks in awarding prizes to the winners have many pertinent points in reference to child care and public health, cattle raising and care for the pasture, etc., so close to the welfare of the villagers;

e) it breaks the narrow provincialism of the villagers since several neighbouring villages participate in the festivity.

Eighth step: Technical improvement - a rural vocational centre

In the fall of 1955 a fire burned down the main lodge (a pre-war building) of the youth centre. This misfortune somehow aroused the sympathy of the villagers all around the project. In fact, it provided an occasion to prove how deeply KEEP had struck their imagination and touched their real need. They rallied together to help the KEEP staff not only to rebuild the youth centre but to start a rural vocational training centre which the youths of the nearby villages may attend during the winter months (when they are less busy on the farm) to learn the rudiments about farm machines, care of animals, farm management, home economics and to discuss problems pertaining to community development. This has become a reality since the summer of 1957.

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The land has proved workable, and a number of vegetables (corn, soya bean, string bean, tomatoes, etc.) and feed grass (alfalfa, clover, Kentucky 31 fescue, etc.) are doing very well. The cows too are doing well, a number of calves have been born; the quality and amount of milk produced are very good.

The success of the experiment has encouraged the local farmers to take advantage of the government-sponsored programme by which several hundred heads of Jersey cows were brought into this area from the USA, Australia and New Zealand. Agricultural experts of the Prefectural government are positive in saying that the success of their programme owes much to KEEP.

Without the sizeable amount of money donated by friends abroad, the Project could not have been started nor sustained, but it is equally true that without the tenacious cooperation of the Japanese staff whose imagination was captured and whose motivation was aroused, the project could not have lasted more than a couple of years. But above all, without Dr. Rusch's vision and vigour, his consecration and the dedication of his entire life and his unswerving belief in the human potentialities too often hidden and untapped, the Project would not have gone much beyond the stage of a blueprint on paper.

Prof. de Vries, formerly Chief of the Economic Section of the World Bank, visited KEEP in the summer of 1957 and had this to say:

"Last year, this group received a bulldozer to speed up the reclamation of land. They did 40 acres and this year will do more. Most likely, they will rent one or two rootrakes from the Kohei Kodan during the winter (only 2 months of snow here). They have a small herd of cows, sent their bull to a new centre established on Hokkaido, use artificial insemination from the government breeding station.

Various grains and clover grow luxuriously (after liming and fertilizing). They will need this year and next year a rather large expansion of their herd, if they want to use the fodder effectively.

KEEP deserves all the help it gets from groups abroad.

It can grow into an important centre for agricultural expansion (including rearing calves) in the Alpine region. At least 40,000 acres of land at this altitude can be brought into cultivation."

ENSHU EVANGELICAL LABOUR ACADEMY

- An imaginative project in relating the Christian social concern to the problem of the modern industrial workers -

By Rev. Yoshimi Matsumoto,
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Chairman, Committee on Occupational Evangelism,
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The modern industrial worker is not merely one who labours. There is no society in any age which does not have workers or labourers. The modern industrial worker has emerged out of the unique socio-economic situation of the modern age and is vested with a unique historical destiny. He is a member of a "new race" that has been born of the modern capitalistic economic structure. Though born of capitalism he is destined to revolt against it and eventually to overcome it. This process takes place rather slowly at some places, while very rapidly at other; it happens at an early stage of industrialization in one country while in another at a very late stage. There is no time-table universally applicable everywhere, but the antithetical character of the relationship between the industrial worker and the capitalistic structure is the same everywhere. This is an undeniable historical reality in our world today. The economic history of Japan seems to make for extremely great tension between the industrial worker and the capitalistic structure.

As one looks at the relationship between the Christian churches and the modern industrial worker in Japan, the lamentable fact is that there exists

between them an unbridgeable chasm. This happened because for the past 60 long years the Japanese churches have not shown any sympathy and understanding nor extended any help to the industrial workers under oppression.

In order to conquer this chasm between the industrial worker and the Church, the Committee on Occupational Evangelism of the Kyodan (United Church of Christ in Japan) is doing several things, of which the Labour School is one. The education of the industrial worker which is attempted by this school is not conceived merely - or even primarily - as a means to convert workers to Christianity but rather as a form of Christian service to the industrial workers of Japan in that it aims to help them understand their status, role, and function in contemporary Japanese society.

People may ask whether this is something which the trade union should be doing rather than the Church. The fact is that in Japan organized industrial workers number 6,500,000, but the organized labour movement is still extremely weak. Organized labour in the true sense of the term came into being only after Japan's defeat in the last war, and was initiated by the Allied Occupation Forces as a part of their occupation policy. It is not something which the workers, of their own will and initiative, struggled to achieve. Furthermore, low wages and poverty coupled with the financial burden of a series of strikes to better conditions, has made it impossible for labour unions to find resources for training and educating their members. As a result the greatest weakness of organized labour in Japan today is in the educational aspect of its task. Whether or not organized labour follows a path of sound and wholesome development is a serious problem for the future of Japan.

In consideration of this situation, the Occupational Evangelism Committee of the Kyodan meeting at Hammamatsu in the fall of 1954 planned for an Evangelical Labour Academy, which subsequently has been held at the same city every year since 1955. In 1956 a similar Academy has arisen in Tokyo, while yet a third has come into being in Otsu in 1957.

The following is a description of the Evangelical Labour Academy at Hammamatsu:

1. Semester: A period of approximately six months, from April to the beginning of September, three nights every week from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. (It is deemed best not to make it longer than six months).

2. Place: From our experience it is deemed best to conduct the sessions in the chapel.

3. Participants' qualification: No restrictive qualification. Up to 150 persons are admitted.

4. Tuition: 100 Yen (approx. 30 U.S. cents) per month. This is little more than nominal, but it is best to charge tuition, no matter how small, without exception.

5. Curriculum:

   Theory of trade unionism; Labour Law; Social Security.
   The national budget: Analysis and evaluation.
   Lectures by the Directors of various trade union organizations, i.e. Zenro, Sohyo, etc.

Problems of the National Constitution.
Christianity and the Labour Movement in Japan.
History of Labour Movement in the World and in Japan.
Problems of Contemporary Literature.
The Minimum Wage Law and the problems involved therein.
Social Thought.
Problems of Women.
Problems of Small and Medium-sized Industries.
Politics: Autocracy vs. Democracy.
Problems of the family-system of Japan.
Christianity: An introductory series (5 or 6 lectures). We give this series so as to make it clear what the basic point of view of our school is in dealing with these diverse kinds of subject matters.)

In addition to these lecture courses, we have at least one night of recreation during the semester. However, we have not yet had any organized instruction on creative forms of recreation or techniques to conduct them. Each lecture is followed by a period of question and answer and of free discussion. A seminar on some specific subject in 3 or 4 sessions with a group of no more than 15 has proved extremely fruitful.

6. Lectures:

It is imperative to have lecturers of well-known reputation and high competence in their respective field of specialization. Labourers who otherwise have no direct access to these specialists are attracted to the Academy by them. We do try to get specialists who are Christians as our lecturers, but when they are not available, it is better to have a non-Christian specialist of first-rate professional competence rather than a Christian of second-rate competence.

7. Finance:

The Kyodan's Committee on Occupational Evangelism subsidizes each academy with 100,000 Yen per semester. The tuition fees and private contributions add up to about 150,000 Yen. Altogether it takes approximately 250,000 Yen to run one semester, where church buildings can be used.

8. General observation:

We have had so far 160 - 170 applicants every year. The average attendance has varied from 70 - 80 to 125 - 130. Fluctuation is caused by the "over-time work" at various plants. We present a certificate to those who have attended more than 70% of the sessions. So far about 70 persons have attained the certificate at the end of each semester. In 1957 there were 10 persons who attended all the sessions. Recently there has been a marked increase of male attendance. Women constitute less than 20% of the total.*

*At first there were more women than men. This does not mean the decrease of interest on the part of women, but rather the gaining of confidence of men in the programme of the Academy. The Academy had one strike against itself in the eyes of the labouring class of Japan because of its church sponsorship, which had to be overcome by the actual content of the courses offered. (Ed.)

The participants are almost all labourers and a good 80% of them had

never been in any Christian church or institution before they came to this Academy. A few of them have started to attend the church as well to inquire more seriously about Christianity itself.

9. The Church - Society Relationship in Hammamatsu City:

A socialist member of the parliament is an active member of our parish; our parish operates a social welfare institution including a clinic; there has always been a close cooperation between the parish and the various labour unions on many of the latter's projects; and finally by now the alumni of our Evangelical Labour Academy run up to more than 500. For these reasons our parish is well thought of by the citizens of Hammamatsu as a going-concern which has something positive to offer to the well-being of the citizenry at large.